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TWO LITTLE BOYS AND THEIR LINK TO LIFE AND HOPE
Lawyer Emanuel H. Bloch with Michael and Robbie Rosenberg

ROSENBERGS' FATE UP TO WHITE HOUSE

1500 clergymen join mercy plea; Einstein backs Urey

BULLETIN

NEW YORK, Jan. 13—A letter asking clemency for the Rosenbergs signed by 1,000 Christian clergymen has been sent to President Truman, it was announced today by Rev. Dr. Jesse W. Stitt, pastor of the Village Presbyterian Church and recent Manhattan Divn. pres. of the N. Y. C. Protestant Council. A later telegram to the White House listed over 500 additional signatures received on Monday, and more signatures still poured in from all over the U. S. Said Dr. Stitt in the telegram:

This mounting response indicates a widely held belief among many responsible community leaders that it would be a serious mistake to inflict the dealth penalty.

The clergymen took no position on the Rosenbergs' guilt or innocence but the letter they signed said:

We ask you in the spirit of the love which casts out fear to mitigate a punishment of such terrible finality, and which, for the offense, is unique in our history.

The unprecedented list of churchmen in every state and of 11 denominations cooperating in this plea included "many who are nationally known" and others "who are building the religious and moral conscience of the country in small places," Dr. Stitt wrote to the President:

We believe you will share our pride that, in a world where hate and fear are striving for the mastery of men's souls, so great a cloud of witnesses declare their trust in the humane American way, and testify to the precepts of the faith whcih you and we confess and try to practice. We are here following the pattern set by American clergymen time and again in each generation.

BULLETIN

PRINCETON, N. J.—Prof. Albert Einstein announced he had written to the White House Monday asking clemency for the Rosenbergs. He told the President his appeal was

. . . prompted by the same reasons which were set forth so convincingly by my distinguished colleague, Harold C. Urey, in his letter of Jan. 5 to the N. Y. Times.

(Atomic physicist Dr. Urey cast grave doubts on the evidence on which

(Continued on Page 5)

'We are innocent . . . to forsake this truth is to pay too high a price . . . even for life'

Following are excerpts from the petition for executive clemency which Ethel and Julius Rosenberg presented to the President on Jan. 10.

WE STAND convicted of the conspiracy with which we were charged. We are conscious that were we to accept this verdict, express guilt, penitence and remorse, we might more readily obtain a mitigation of our sentence. But this course is not open to us.

We are innocent, as we have proclaimed and maintained from the time of our arrest. This is the whole truth. To forsake this truth is to pay too high a price even for the priceless gift of life—for life thus purchased we could not live in dignity and self respect.

• • •

You may even harbor a personal conviction of our culpability. But many times before there has been too unhesitating reliance on the verdict of the moment and regret for the death that closed the door to remedy when the truth, as it will, has risen.

• • •

We have always said that David, our brother, knowing well the consequences of his acts, bargained our lives away for his life and his wife's. Ruth goes free, as all the world knows; David's freedom, too, is not so far off that he will not have many years to live a life—if we should die—that, perhaps, only a David Greenglass could suffer to live.

• • •

Only one tribunal, the sentencing court, has asserted the correctness of our sentence to death. . . . In other words, only one human being in a position of power has said we ought to die.

Although our case was appealed to the higher courts, the appellate tribunals, denying their power to review the discretion of the sentencing judge, have not, on the assumption of our guilt, ruled on the propriety of the magnitude of the sentence of death.

You, Mr. President, are the first one who is empowered to review these sentences—and the last one.

• • •

For the most grave of all crimes, only two death sentences have been imposed since the adoption of the Constitution and no executions have taken place. In the midst of the last war three persons, and after the close of hostilities, five persons were charged with, tried for, and convicted of treason for adherence to an enemy that was despicable to the entire world for a wantonness unparalleled in human history. No one of these was executed for his crime.

• • •

The true precedent, which you have set, Mr. President, and which the judge ignored, buttresses the common understanding that death was meant to punish wartime espionage in wartime and not after the termination of hostilities. Of the German saboteurs who were tried and sentenced to death during the war, two—William Curtiss Colepaugh and Erich Gimpel—who had not been executed at the time of the close of hostilities, were granted commutation of their sentences by President Truman, on June 23, 1945.

• • •

We submit, Mr. President, that life, even in jail, was denied to us in belief, as the judge himself declared: ". . . if the Rosenbergs were ever to attain their freedom, they would continue their deep-seated devotion and allegiance to Soviet Russia. . . ." There is no such crime in our constitutional scheme of things as a "crime of the heart and mind" alone. Punishment may serve only as a deterrent to the recurrence of criminal acts. When the coercive cruelty of punishment is used, literally, to kill ideas, whatever they may be, Government becomes the instrument of tyranny. Our democracy must reject even the hint of this abuse of power.

It may be easy to execute us. But can this nation afford to appear fearful of the impact of ideas upon our security by the display of a show of strength to forfeit our two insignificant lives?

. . . Our death sentences represent a reversion to barbarism from which humanity recoils in horror.

• • •

We appeal to your mind and conscience, Mr. President, to take counsel with the reason of others and with the deepest human feelings that treasure life and shun its taking. To let us live will serve all and the common good. If we are innocent, as we proclaim, we shall have the opportunity to vindicate ourselves. If we have erred, as others say, then it is in the interests of the United States not to depart from its heritage of openheartedness and its ideals of equality before the law by stooping in a vengeful and savage deed.

ETHEL ROSENBERG

JULIUS ROSENBERG

If they die, can their brother suffer to live?

If there's a bulls-eye above,

YOUR SUBSCRIPTION HAS EXPIRED!

YOU MUST RENEW by Jan. 31 to be sure of receiving your GUARDIAN in 1953 without interruption.

FREE WITH YOUR RENEWAL NOW

Your choice of one of these two excellent books:

☐ ABIDE WITH ME, Guardion Editor Belfrage's hilarious novel exposing the funeral racket.

☐ WE CAN BE FRIENDS, Carl Marzoni's important documented account of how the cold war began and how to end it.

THIS OFFER TERMINATES ON JAN. 31. . . . The supply of "Abide With Me" is limited. Once these copies are gone, all requests will be filled with "We Can Be Friends."

THERE'S NOTHING TO FILL IN. Just check your FREE BOOK, then tear off this corner with your label on the reverse. (Check your name and address for correctness.) Put it in an envelope with $2 for 52 weeks (dollar bills are OK) and mail TODAY to

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

THE MAIL BAG

The Rosenberg Vigil

WASHINGTON, D. C.

I went to bed last night with music singing in my ears. Music from the people who are fighting to save the lives of two of the most courageous people in the world today, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

As long as I live I shall never forget the thrill that went through my being when I approached the White House on Jan. 5 and saw thousands of people marching there imploring the President to grant clemency for the Rosenbergs.

A Mother

Judge Kaufman's quote

NEW YORK, N. Y.

In his recent final judgment on the Rosenberge, Judge Irving R. Kaufman quoted from George Eliot's **Romola** to bolster his position. He might have gone to the same source for this: "Justice is like the kingdom of God; it is not within us as a fact, it is within us as a great yearning." Except, of course, that it is within Judge Kaufman neither as fact nor yearning. And incidentally, while invoking George Eliot, whose knowledge of the secret places of the human heart was very great, he might, in **Daniel Deronda**, have found this:

"There is a great deal of unmapped country within us which would have to be taken into account in an explanation of our gusts and storms," the theory formulated long before Freud upon which modern psychology is based. It would take no too astute a psychologist, however, to map some of that country in Judge Kaufman. One can easily discern that same motivation which has just led the Jewish War Veterans to issue their shameful statement upholding him; which made co-operation with the Nazi conquerors possible in the Warsaw ghetto, as Hersey's novel **The Wall** makes it so clear.

It did them no good in the end; and that is one of the lessons of history that seems not to have been learned. Judge Kaufman does not know that, along with Judge Thayer and some others, he will present a sorry spectacle for future historians, whereas the Zolas and the Altgelds will be of ever greater stature with the passing of time.

Berenice Noar

Where there's no appeal

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg are charged with being pawns in an alleged spy ring and master-minded by one Klaus Fuchs, a British scientist. Fuchs is given 14 years in jail and is still working for the British govrenment. Gold and Greenglass, two others in the "ring," got similar sentences. Fuchs and Gold are bachelors. All three "confessed." Yet, the Rosenbergs, parents of two small children (with the most to gain by "confessing"), to this day maintain their innocence. They are given the death sentence. This is barbarism. President Truman must grant executive clemency. There is no appeal from the grave.

Cherry Smith

Un-American?

"Jayan veran pasavati—
dukkan seti parajito.
"Upasanto sukhan seti—
hitva jaya parajayan."

(See p. 7)

How crazy can you get dept.

That the UN should be uncovered as a nest of subversives, commies, pinks and other subversive factions was as inevitable as government taxes. What better brooding place could the mother hens of communism find to nurture their young than in an organization which reaks (sic) with international flavor and has as its motivating force peace in the world.

—Michigan Overseas Veteran, organ of Mich. VFW, Jan. 1.

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner: Ed Shaffer, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Hold your nose!

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

It was Christmas Eve. We were listening to the radio. It was announced that President Truman had granted amnesty to J. Parnell Thomas, a crook alongside of whom Jean Valjean was a nobleman. The stench in high places is particularly nauseating when it comes at the holiday season. A Christmas gift of amnesty to Thomas while men and women rot in prison because their ideas of peace on earth and good will to men endanger the profits of the munition makers! Amnesty to a contemptible thief who besmirched the democratic ideal that President Truman prates about!

S. K. Davis

Ceylon to Carolina

RANSOMVILLE, N. C.

I am so pleased with the results of the three little ads I placed in the GUARDIAN that I am hereby ordering two more. A bookstore in Nebraska placed an order for five copies of my book **Of Dust and Stars**, and orders have come from individuals as far away as Colombo, Ceylon. You can imagine how surprised I was to get an order from Ceylon! Though no publisher will touch my collected verse for understandable reasons, the response from readers has been all that the heart of any poet could desire.

Vernon Ward

Life in Greenland

BORNHOLM, DENMARK

Greenland is supposed to be a colony of Denmark. The King and Queen made a journey there a few months ago, ostensibly to learn how their subjects, the Eskimos, are living. The Danish radio reported that the average life span for women there is 23 years, for men, 28. Tuberculosis is raging, and there are hardly any hospital facilities for the King's subjects.

Bidstrup, Copenhagen

"You Eskimos scram! We're gonna defend you against foreigners."

The doctors (very few) reported that patients were not segregated, whether tubercular or not, and that children were put into drawers of chests, due to the shortage of hospital beds. Meantime the U. S. Army has built hospitals to house thousands, in case of global war, but Greenlanders can't use them.

The Danish Foreign Minister appealed to the public to donate money to fight tuberculosis in Greenland. The King and Queen, of course, indorsed this charity. The Government said "the State has done all it could."

Danish government representatives in Greenland are building themselves mansions, while the masses of Greenland's population are still living in hovels and suffering from malnutrition. American corporations are exploiting Greenland's lead deposits. The U. S. Army does not even want the Scandinavian Airlines to establish air service between Denmark and Greenland. Danish control over Greenland is imaginary.

Andy Overgaard

The Prague trials

PRAGUE, CSR

I wish to disagree strongly with the letter of Max Awner in the GUARDIAN (Dec. 25) in which he accuses the GUARDIAN of "whitewashing" the Prague trials. The article was a sober attempt to provide information which was lacking in the American press. On the contrary, I would have liked to have seen a stronger statement pointing out that the defendants were all guilty of murder and of plotting for war and all admitted it.

To equate the Prague trials with the Rosenberg Case is like calling the Nuremberg trials of war criminals another Sacco and Vanzetti Case. Or must the criminals actually bring about a war, murder millions of people and lose the war before they are brought to dock? Is it not enough that they caused the death of concentration camp inmates, betrayed Czechoslovak resistance fighters to the Gestapo, deliberately sabotaged work in the mines which brought the death of Czechoslovak miners, plotted with agents abroad to sell out their country in which the majority want socialism? And—I repeat—they admitted this in a public trial in open court.

Instead of slandering the Czechoslovak government, American liberals should be grateful to them for thwarting the warmakers who would also bring disaster to the American people.

Eleanor Wheeler

New Yorkers!

Don't forget the National Guardian's Anniversary Meeting

Friday, Jan. 16, 8 p.m.

City Center Casino Ballroom
135 West 55th St.

Tickets: $1.25 at door

The January quarterback

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Herewith a belated, one-sentence analysis of the recent Presidential election: Between one and two million Progressives were fooled by Stevenson while between five and ten million Democrats were fooled by Eisenhower.

Thor d'Pardee

How to greet Ike

EXCELLO, MO.

"I am for peace." Those four words by Eisenhower, and the confidence of the American people in his good faith, elected him to the Presidency. He has a clear mandate to end the bloody, senseless conflict. He can make peace by a stroke of his pen, by stopping hostilities, releasing prisoners and calling a 5-power peace conference. Let our leaders show good faith by inviting People's China to sit with us, as a member in the UN and at the peace table.

Let the slogan of American peacemakers be a million peace letters on the President's desk on Inaugural day.

I am publishing a **Peace Appeal** newsletter in which readers are being polled on 10 points of a People's Plan for Peace. A copy will be sent to anyone requesting it.

J. L. Widner
Box 53

It's dem Reds

MARTINS FERRY, OHIO

A Washington UP dispatch published here Dec. 17 quotes Newark, N. J., Director of Public Safety, J. B. Keenan: "If Communists are not behind this drive to flood the nation with obscenity . . . then it is only because greedy business men are carrying the ball for them."

Our "best minds" are having a tough time finding a goat for the "eminently unsatisfactory" results of their own activities.

George F. Curry

Clippings sent us from all over show a nation-wide campaign to blame "Communists" also for "the appalling spread of drug addiction." So far, we have seen no charges of "Communist" responsibility for making the U. S. the country with the world's highest alcoholism and divorce rates. Ed.

Memo from Earl Robinson

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Because the GUARDIAN is in the finest sense of the word a cultured newspaper, I hope you can print a plug for a people's cultural institution—the Metropolitan Music School of N. Y. City.

Back in the '30's, when I was learning about folk music and studying how to compose words and music to help the labor movement and the struggle for equality of people, the MMS arranged for me to study composition further, through a scholarship, with Aaron Copland. Today an interracial committee working with the school has set up a scholarship fund in honor of Will Marion Cook, Negro violinist-composer.

The MMS children's program, starting with pre-school ages (3-6), is constructive and fascinating. I urge N. Y. readers to support this truly people's school by enrolling or sending students and otherwise by contributions to the interracial scholarship fund. The catalog is available on request from MMS, 18 W. 74th St., New York City.

Earl Robinson

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REPORT TO READERS

Will you see that we stay in business?

THIS WEEK THE GUARDIAN is observing its fourth anniversary—deferred from Oct. 18 because we were too busy then to talk birthdays.

So actually we are three months on into our fifth year and looking ahead hopefully to **reaching the ripe old age of** five and beyond.

Whether we make it, rests as always with you, the reader, for the GUARDIAN has no hidden resources.

The birthday remembrance we want most from you is your continued readership for 1953—your subscription renewal if it is due (your name is in red out on Page One if it is) and your help over the rough spots when we come to them.

We are bouncing over one of our roughest spots right now. If the renewals don't come in, there is the real and present danger of being forced to suspend.

WE HAVE HAD QUITE A CAREER for an independent, upstart venture in decent, unintimidated journalism—with the best people in America as readers.

Those of you who were with us at the start of things know it was the GUARDIAN, then only a week old, which launched the campaign in 1948 that eventually freed four of the Trenton Six and saved the two others from execution.

As we go to press with this issue of the paper, the campaign undertaken initially by the GUARDIAN in 1951 for justice in the Rosenberg Case has attained worldwide proportions; sentence has been stayed while the President of the United States considers the plea of literally millions of people for executive clemency.

In between these two milestone achievements, one at the start of our life and one occupying much of our fourth year, the staff of the GUARDIAN has worked with a single purpose in mind—to slash through the press and radio curtain in America to bring people the facts they must have to win a better future. This we have sought to do within the limits of a very tiny weekly paper, sometimes in very tiny type to crowd things in, but always with everything we had.

For these purposes in the future, we'd like to stay in business—and you, the reader, have the final say of it.

John T. McManus **for the GUARDIAN staff.**

THIS IS THE EISENHOWER TOP BRASS

The Big Money takes over from the stooges

By Tabitha Petran and Victor Perlo

WITH Eisenhower's inauguration the commanders-in-chief of the nation's top capital empires—the Rockefellers, Morgans, du Ponts, Mellons—are taking **direct** control of the U.S. government.. His appointees are

. . . not just business [but] BIG-BIG BUSINESS . . . industrialists out of the top drawer . . . even Wall St. is startled (N.Y. Post, 12/22).

Their march on Washington highlights these facts:

● In the past decade these top capital groups, feeding on soaring profits from military budgets and seizure of raw materials and markets abroad, have enormously extended their control, reach, power.

● These groups are now more closely integrated than ever before under leadership of a few top men, as shown by the complexion of the Eisenhower cabinet.

● They are taking over the machinery of government as the effects of their policies—carried out by (on the whole) lesser representatives in Truman's administration—grow more critical, showing that like the German financiers of 1933 they can, in a crisis, unite behind a single repressive program.

WAR & EXPANSION: Most of the men taking power tried to line up the U.S. with the Berlin-Tokyo Axis before World War II; they were stopped by the Roosevelt coalition but have worked unceasingly since to remedy that failure. The capital groups they command have a huge stake in war business and expansion abroad. (Later articles will show this stake, particularly in colonial countries.)

Eisenhower's closest adviser, Gen. Lucius Clay, has had a key role in naming appointees. As a result of his services to top capital groups as U.S. Military Governor of Germany, Clay

became board chairman of Morgan's Continental Can Co., director of Morgan's world-wide Newmont Mining Co., and more recently of General Motors. He made suitable choices for the new cabinet.

DEFENSE: C. E. Wilson

The giant GM has consistently been the nation's top war contractor, garnering a minimum of $20 billion in war orders since 1941. GM pres. Wilson and a GM vice-pres., **Roger Kyes,** will be Secy. and Deputy Secy. of the Defense Dept., now dispensing $60 billion a year in war business. As Defense Secy., Wilson will have one of the most influential voices in foreign, domestic, military policy, as well as in the distribution of war business.

Departmental secretaries under Wilson were clearly chosen for their acceptability as umpires for monopolizing allocation of war business among the top groups:

ARMY: Robt. T. Stevens

● Head of J. P. Stevens, big textile firm in Morgan orbit; director of several Morgan corporations — General Electric, General Foods, Mutual Life, N.Y. Telephone, Owens Corning Fibre Glass—and of Pan-American Airways (Morgan-Mellon-Rockefeller). Chief of textile-clothing procurement branch, Quartermaster Corps, World War II.

AIRFORCE: H. E. Talbott

● N.Y. investment broker holding numerous directorships: most important—Chrysler Corp., where Rockefeller, Morgan and other interests meet. Aircraft production director of the World War II War Production Board; member in the '30's of several anti-New Deal, anti-labor organizations.

NAVY: Robt. B. Anderson

● Key figure in Texas finance, oil, and agriculture, representing merging of Southern capital with Wall St., as shown by his directorship in the Rockefeller-dominated American Petroleum Institute and his having been offered its presidency. The Navy is probably the largest world buyer of diesel oil. His appointment nullifies Truman's proposal to make tidelands oil a naval reserve. In the 1920's oil leases were a matter of bribery—in the 1950's the oil companies sit in the seats of power.

TREASURY: Geo. Humphrey

Through his presidency of M. A. Hanna Co. (iron ore), his exec. comm.

chairmanship of Ernest T. Weir's Natl. Steel, and directorship in the Cleveland Natl. City Bank (meeting place for "independent" steel companies), Humphrey has been identified as a representative of the so-called Cleveland financial group. He in fact represents the increasing amalgamation of this group with the top capital empires—shown by his board chairmanship of Pittsburgh-Consolidation (Mellon-Rockefeller), directorship of Morgan's Phelps Dodge copper, exec. comm. chairmanship and directorship of Industrial Rayon (Kuhn Loeb).

Humphrey and GM's Wilson served together in 1948 on the committee named by ECA's Paul Hoffman (another Eisenhower adviser) which accomplished perhaps the most basic reversal of Roosevelt's policies in Germany. It halted the dismantling of German steel plants, thus preparing German domination of the Schuman steel cartel and rearmament.

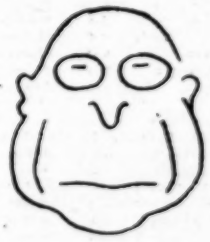
BUDGET: Joseph Dodge

Budget director Dodge was Clay's financial adviser in Germany. He has played a singularly important role in every U.S.-occupied country. In Germany he organized the currency reform, set the stage for U.S. investment, for repayment of U.S. holders of Nazi-German bonds. As financial adviser to ECA chief Hoffman he helped build W. Germany as the core of the Marshall Plan. As adviser to Secy. of State Marshall at the 1947 London Foreign Ministers Conference, he helped organize the division of Germany.

As U.S. Minister on the Austrian Treaty Commission (1947) he battled for compensation for the Rockefellers. (The Rockefellers sought to use the fact that the Nazis employed the corporate framework of Rockefeller-owned oil properties in Germany for piracy of Austria's oil reserve, to demand compensation for Nazi oil companies in Soviet-occupied Austria.)

As financial adviser to MacArthur, Dodge forced an "austerity" policy on Japan which cut living standards, bankrupted small business, strengthened monopoly; directed Japanese buying to U.S. markets and sales to British territories, rousing London's ire; opened the door to U.S. investment in basic industry, including oil (Rockefeller) and rubber (du Pont-Morgan).

Dodge was one-time chairman of the GM bank, First Natl. of Detroit, then



pres. of the Detroit Bank (real estate and insurance) some of whose directors are linked to Rockefeller and Morgan interests, and a director of Chrysler (Rockefeller, Morgan, others). Like Humphrey he links Midwest capitalists with topmost capital groups.

TREASURY DEPUTIES: W. R. Burgess, Marion Folsom

Special deputy to Humphrey will be chairman Burgess of the exec. comm. of the Natl. City Bank, Wall St.'s leading international bank with more than 50 foreign branches. Burgess is a top Morgan man; Natl. City has been dominated by the Morgans until this year when the Rockefellers (who got out in the '30's coincident with Morgan withdrawal from Chase Natl.) came back in. The Rockefeller return to Natl. City coincident with its take-over in the State Dept. suggests more aggressive expansionist policies abroad, as well as closer cooperation among the top groups, with the Rockefellers taking a more leading role.

Burgess and Treasury Under-Secy. Folsom of Eastman Kodak (Eastman family with some Morgan influence) are both directors of the Federal Reserve Bank of N.Y. Their appointments insure "Treasury-Federal Reserve harmony" (**Wall St. Journal,** 12/13). What this means is that taxpayers will have to shell out an additional $2 to $3 billion a year to the big banks in the form of interest on the mounting federal debt. Treasury policy until recently has been to keep a low interest rate on the debt, leading to continual friction with the Federal Reserve Banks. Burgess has advocated raising the interest rate.

Dulles, Aldrich & Co.

John Foster Dulles, linked by many ties to Nazi business and finance, heads the State Dept. for the Rockefellers. Winthrop Aldrich, pres. of Rockefeller's Chase Natl. Bank and brother-in-law of John D. Rockefeller Jr., takes the key embassy in London.

Elevation of John J. McCloy to the presidency of Chase completes the pat-

tern. McCloy, a lawyer for the Rockefellers specializing in their German business, in 1941 became Asst. War Secy. in charge of the Pentagon's political policy in Europe. He named the men who overturned German policy, after the war became head of the World Bank, then German High Commissioner.

THE OUTLOOK: The pattern of these appointments accomplishes, under the generalship of Eisenhower, that "three-way partnership" of big business, military and government projected by General Electric's (Morgan) Charles Wilson back in 1944.

Abroad, it points to speeding up the take-over of the British Empire, greater concentration on Germany and Japan as instruments of a more aggressive U.S. policy and keystones of export of U.S. capital.

At home, to consolidation of government into a huge big-business corporation ready to carry out ruthlessly its NAM policies, and to more determined preparation for war.

What Winnie Wants

Prime Minister Churchill, who talked last week with Eisenhower, Dulles, Aldrich, called it a "scouting expedition." The scout's purpose was plain:

● Britain—suffering keenly from German and Japanese trade competition and the weight of rearmament (Churchill twice cut arms goals in the last half-year, gave exports priority over rearmaments)—is fighting to salvage its empire, threatened everywhere by the U.S. The oil company-led U.S. drive to muscle in on Iran was reportedly one cause precipitating Churchill's visit. He must also get some form of U.S. dollar aid if even a start is to be made on the Commonwealth Conference decisions to work toward a convertible pound.

● Published reports that MacArthur urged Eisenhower to use the A-bomb in Manchuria, that the U.S. Navy is ready to blockade China, etc., have alarmed Britain. Churchill in his first press interview warned the U.S. not to send its or UN armies "to wander all about China," reportedly believes Korea should be regarded like old-time British colonial wars.

The right-wing press took a new sharp tone toward the Tory leader. Castigating him for his "inept remark" that Britain would continue to recognize China, David Lawrence (N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** 1/5) accused Churchill of **. . . washing his hands of responsibility for getting American troops home from Korea any time in the next ¼ century.**

Scripps-Howard papers accused Churchill of a "very confusing, perhaps deliberately so" stand on Korea; retarding the NATO build-up; dealing too lightly with internal security. Sen. Dirksen (R-Ill.) of the pro-German lobby said "hell will pop" if Eisenhower promises Churchill money aid.

Czech Anti-Semitism?

Criticism of the recent espionage-sabotage trial in Prague as "anti-Semitic" was heard from some delegates at the Vienna Peace Congress Dec. 19. These were some denials heard there:

EMIL ZATOPEK, Olympic champion: "I am certain that delegates who have visited our country will know that racial hatred does not exist in Czechoslovakia."

PROF. SAMUEL EISENSTADT of the Israeli delegation: "I, as a professor of social law, categorically reject this slander. On the basis of scientifically established facts and study of the structural nature of the socialist countries and peoples' democracies, I declare that no national discrimination, nor racial hatred, is possible among peace-loving people who have eliminated class contradictions and the inequality of nations."

MRS. GUSTA FUCHIKOVA, widow of Czech national hero Julius Fuchik: "The accused were not on trial because of their origin but because they had committed crimes which would be punished in any country. There exists in our country an intense hatred of anti-Semitism, intensified after the war because of the suffering endured by Jews during the Hitlerite occupation. We consider anti-Semitism as a form of barbarism. Every expression of race hatred is part of the preparation for war. We in Czechoslovakia are fighting for peace."

VOICES FOR PEACE

The GUARDIAN is asking its readers to send in newspaper clippings that express the growing sentiment for peace throughout the nation. The clips may be letters to the editor of local papers, reports of peace meetings, interviews with returning GI's, cartoons, etc. How about checking your hometown paper today?

If your local paper blacks it out—tell US about it!

THE STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE

Truman winds up with bitter attack on Russia and defense of his era

By Elmer Bendiner

IN Wednesday morning's N.Y. **Herald Tribune** the Alsop brothers wrote:

> The explosion at Eniwetok [purportedly of an H-bomb] can conceivably presage a nightmare time, when the race of men will become wholly sterile, or will breed only monster-mutations. Perhaps the era when the praying mantis will rule over the earth may not be very far off.

Wednesday evening's **World-Telegram** carried this nightmare-time headline: "TRUMAN WARNS STALIN: SHUN WAR, H-BOMB RUIN." During the afternoon Harry S. Truman had delivered, through a clerk who actually read it to Congress, his 8th and last State of the Union message to Congress, in which he warned that the "war of the future" could

> ". . . extinguish millions of lives at one blow, demolish the great cities of the world, wipe out the cultural achievements of the past—and destroy the very structure of a civilization."

The President admitted that such a war could destroy the U.S. along with the U.S.S.R., and said: "Such a war is not a policy for rational men." When communists recognize that truth,

> ". . . they will find us eager to reach understandings that will protect the world from the danger it faces today."

He made no mention of Stalin's recent proposal for immediate conferences to end the threat of war.

SAYS WHO? So much of the speech was made up of bitter references to Russia that Rep. Charles E. Halleck (R-Ind.), new House majority leader, said it seemed to him "more a message on the state of the Soviet Union." Truman's references to the U.S. were marked by a similar air of unreality. The President who initiated loyalty oaths, and under whose administration witch-hunting was raised to unprecedented heights, said gravely:

> "We must renew our confidence in one another, our tolerance, our sense of being neighbors, fellow-citizens. We must take our stand on the Bill of Rights. The inquisition, the star chamber have no place in a free society."

The speech seemed a fitting close to an administration that had thrived on compounded double-talk. His section on civil liberties was of a piece with his former state pronouncements and his even more desperate campaign oratory. (Campaigning in Harlem last October, Truman announced that FBI arrests were near in the bombing of NAACP leader Harry B. Moore; the matter has not been mentioned since.)

WALL ST. DISSENTS: Truman spent much of his farewell message defending the state to which he brought the union. That state was summed up differently by the **Wall St. Journal:**

> We are fighting one bloody and costly war without hope of ending; we live within the shadow of a greater one. We carry an oppressive burden of taxes. Our money is depreciated and everywhere there is evidence that our public morals are rotting.

Kontakt, Oslo

Around us the whole western world seems in danger of collapsing except as we can prop it up. From the east there presses on us relentlessly a new barbarism. Within we are haunted by fears of betrayal in high places.

In the House less than 100 of the 433 members weere present; many read newspapers or chatted while the clerk read the speech.

SHIVERING BRITISH SPINES: The N.Y. **Times'** London correspondent wrote (1/9):

> There were passages in Mr. Truman's message that sent shivers down the spines of some people in the Foreign Office. . . . The Times of London ignored most of the world implications and directed its comment . . . toward what is generally known in Britain as the American witch-hunt. (The Times applauded Truman's defense of liberty.)

David Lawrence in the **NYHT** (1/9) said the President's comment on civil liberties

> . . . gives a curious picture of alleged interference with liberties in America. It's the same cry that the Communists raise as they seek by technicalities to block trials. It's the same line of thought which causes the Communists to picket the White House with cries of innocence about the convicted atom spies—the Rosenbergs.

Dems. "good-humored" at civil rights torpedoing

After listening to, or ignoring, the President's message the 83d Congress in its first week set the stage for good-natured surrender of New-Fair Deal pretensions. **NYT**'s C. P. Russell (1/3) commented on the "good humor and sportsmanship of routed Democrats."

The good humor was displayed chiefly in regard to civil rights. Up to now, bills for fair employment practices, anti-poll-tax and anti-lynching legislation have been talked to death in the Senate, the talkers protected by rules which require ⅔ of all Senators (present or not) to close debate. During the campaign both big parties, wooing Negro voters, denounced the filibuster. For weeks before the 83d opened there had been talk of a concerted drive by liberals to set new rules that would close debate by vote of a simple majority of those present.

On Wednesday the Senate killed 70-21 a preliminary proposal, offered by Sen. Clinton P. Anderson (D-N.M.), to frame new Senate rules.

CHUCKLING SENATORS: The coalition which in the session's first week virtually wiped out chances of civil rights legislation included party leaders on both sides of the Senate. Sen. Matthew M. Neely (D-W.Va.), closing the liberals' arguments, recalled that Eisenhower had spoken out for revised Senate rules everywhere he had campaigned "except in Texas, Florida and South Carolina" and called on him to intercede with Taft. It brought chuckles from the Senators.

Taft said he would favor some modification of the rules and Sen. Lehman (D-N.Y.) promised "a long and historic fight" to end the filibuster, but the **NYT** (1/8) summed up the prospect:

> . . . That no civil rights bill was at all likely to be enacted by Congress short of a contest of physical endurance ending in collapse of the Southern and allied opposition through fatigue.

Debate had lasted only two days and **NYT**'s Arthur Krock commented (1/9):

> . . . The few hours both sides were content to assign to the debate, make it clear that the advocates of the change were engaged in merely a "token" demonstration.

Walter Lippmann (1/6) shed new light on the filibuster:

> As I see it, the filibuster is a great and irreplaceable protection of the civil rights of the American people, and it would be a paradox with tragic consequences if it were swept away in the name of civil rights.

This is how the 83rd Congress shapes up

THOUGH election returns indicated one of the most powerful Congressional minorities ever to face a President, **U.S. News** (11/14) forecast:

> Eisenhower's honeymoon with Congress may last a long time. He sees eye to eye with conservatives who are sure to be in control. North-South coalition that blocked Truman will be with Ike. There will be no New Deal or "Fair Deal" to upset the friendship. It is a prospect that the country has not had since 1937 [Roosevelt's second term].

In the 83d Congress (518 men, 11 women, 2 Negroes), the GOP rules the House 221-211, the Senate 48-47 with one independent in each chamber. But the Dixie Democrat and northern GOP machine coalition, which whittled away the vestiges of the New Deal through the Truman years, remains in control, only with the latter replacing the former in leadership.

PUPPET-MASTER TAFT: The shift in committee chairmanships from South to Midwest was indecisive, little more than a nod in the direction of outmoded party lines. The Midwest got 10 of the 16 Senate chairmanships, 13 out of 19 in the House. Here is a roll-call of the 83d's key men:

Sen. Robt. A. Taft (Ohio), majority leader, was keeping himself free to run the works backstage. Slated for the Senate Labor Committee's chairmanship (charged with revising his own Taft-Hartley Act), Taft stepped aside for ex-Princeton Prof. H. Alexander Smith (N.J.). According to Drew Pearson, "Smith has confided to friends that he will be only a figure-head." On the committee's agenda are plans to limit nationwide bargaining; curb strikes; continue the 82d's subcommittee that sought ways and means to remove labor leaders who are marked "Left" but still get elected by their membership. Groundwork for that subcommittee was laid by Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.).

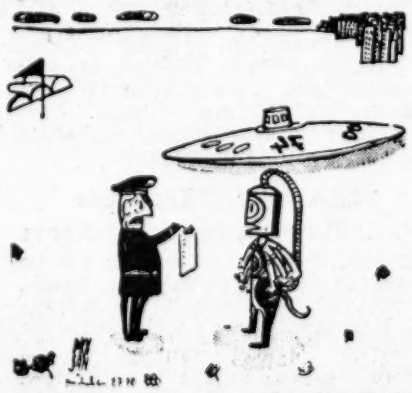
Taking Taft's place as head of the GOP Policy Comm. is **Sen. Wm. F. Knowland (Cal.),** the "Senator from Formosa."

PRICES & TAXES: The record-player magnate **Sen. Homer E. Capehart (Ind.)** will head the Banking & Currency Committee. His price law authorized sellers to pass all cost rises on to the consumer: President Truman predicted it would result in "enrichment and profiteering for the few, economic hardships and misery for the many." He has tried to raise interest on GI loans, blocked reports on the RFC loan to the B & O Railroad. In 1951 he said:

> "I certainly would vote for a declaration of war against China."

Tax legislation will be in the hands of Senate Finance chairman, millionaire **Eugene Millikin (Colo.),** who has opposed excess profits and other upper-bracket taxation. He will also head the Republican Conference.

Sen. George D. Aiken (Vt.), new Agriculture Comm. chairman, has opposed the Brannan Plan, favors present sliding support system of farm prices. His House counterpart, **Rep. Clifford R. Hope (Kansas),** agrees.



Carrefour, Paris

"I don't care if you did come in a saucer. Fill out this questionnaire!"

Juggling national finances in the Senate will be **Styles Bridges (N.H.),** whose influence was allegedly bought in a $7,000,000 income tax fix.

BROOMSTICK GRADUATES: The Senate Foreign Relations Comm. will be in the hands of **Alexander Wiley (Wis.),** UN delegate whose main activity has been witch-hunting. Taft last week was planning to join the committee himself and add two of his supporters, Sens. Capehart and Ferguson (Mich.). Foreign Relations, along with eight other committees, has been enlarged to accommodate more GOP Senators.

Prime witch-hunter **Sen. McCarthy (Wis.)** took his seat without a single protesting voice although the Senate Elections Comm. had filed a report containing 148 exhibits plainly indicating financial skulduggery. The book-length, last-minute report made no recommendations; Drew Pearson itemized alleged threats made by McCarthy to forestall any.

The report is still "alive," but in the hands of the new Rules Comm. headed by **Wm. E. Jenner (Ind.),** a close friend of McCarthy's who embarrassed the GOP campaign by witch-hunting Gen. Marshall as a "traitor." As soon as he was seated, McCarthy launched formal charges of financial misbehavior against Sen. A. S. Mike Monroney (D-Okla.) who served on the Election Committee.

BELLIGERENT MOSSBACKS: In the House, Republicans again chose as Speaker **Joseph Martin (Mass.).** In a post-election interview Martin told **U.S. News** (11/24):

> "It's time we showed the Russians we are not going to permit a stalemate war to continue in Korea."

Speaker Martin favors using Chiang Kai-shek's troops in Korea, continuation of the Truman Doctrine in Europe. As GOP strategist he asked patronage for Southern Democrats on the coalition team, asserting:

> "We're ready to take them in as equal partners."

Rep. John Taber (N.Y.), House Appropriations chairman, has held his seat since Calvin Coolidge. He fought almost every New Deal measure since WPA, is regarded as one of the original mossbacks.

Rep. Dewey Short (Mo.), head of the House Armed Services Comm., returned from a Korea junket last fall urging an offensive "all the way to the Yalu."

HEALTHY FOR WHOM? Washington's overall new look was unmistakable. The Alsop brothers in the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (12/31) wrote:

> The Eisenhower Administration is going to be predominantly a business man's administration, and this can be one of the healthiest and most hopeful aspects of the new era.

JULIUS A. ARCHIBALD
The first Negro ever elevated to the N.Y. Senate, he took his seat last week in Albany.

'I let the pains that tore at my insides flood out in tears . . .'

This letter was written by Julius Rosenberg after lawyer Emanuel Bloch brought the Rosenberg children for a visit to Sing Sing.

JANUARY 3, 1953

Dearest Manny,

It is now Saturday afternoon. The visit is over. Our children have gone home. Through the exertion of super-human efforts I have finally succeeded in reestablishing my equilibrium and I can continue to write. Because we are innocent and our cause is just, I have been strong enough to face all this and not once have I given free rein to the tormenting flood of emotions that are dammed up inside of me.

Today our precious boys came and our own family lived once again for two hours. I could see the trust in little Robbie's eyes, and the sweet, warm feeling of love that passed between us, in all that he said and in our play together.

We looked through the barred window at the sea gulls and the tugboat pulling a string of barges on the Hudson. The pictures he drew and the drawings I made for him were interrupted while he kissed my cheeks as he circled my neck with his little arms. My son was happy with his daddy. Julie was a big pussy cat chasing the little mousie, Robbie, and we had fun. Our baby got our true feelings.

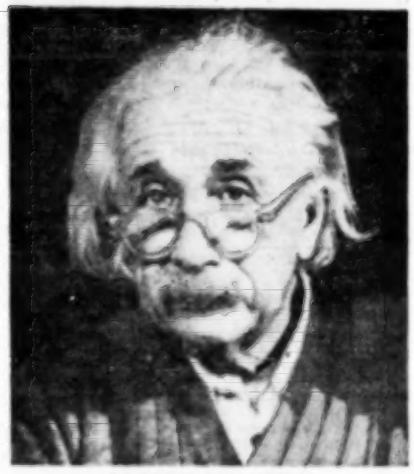
Michael was troubled and disturbed and the burdens on him were obvious to us, his parents. My darling wife did so well by him. She explained patiently, carefully, firmly, but all the time with a complete acceptance of him and showed such wonderful understanding. I promised to play Michael chess. I hope to someday.

Then they had to go and as I helped Michael with his coat he suddenly clutched me with his hands and stammered as he lowered his head, "You must come home. Every day there is a lump in my stomach, even when I go to bed." I kissed him in a hurry for I was unable to say anything but "everything will be all right."

When I was in the solitude of my cell once more and the door clanged shut behind me I must confess I broke down and cried like a baby because of the children's deep hurt. With my back to the bars, I stood facing the concrete walls that boxed me in on all sides, and I let the pains that tore at my insides flood out in tears. The wretched beastliness and inhumanity of it all.

I am okay now, and I'll copy over some of the notes that I prepared for you. . .

Julie



ALBERT EINSTEIN

The Rosenbergs' fate up to the President

(Continued from Page 1)

the Rosenbergs were convicted, said he "found the Rosenbergs' testimony more believable than that of the Greenglasses.")

By Lawrence Emery

HEADED for the President's desk last week were formal appeals for executive clemency signed by Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, under sentence of death as "atom spies." No one knew when the appeals would reach the White House; they must first be processed by the Justice Department's Pardon Attorney, then forwarded to the President through the Attorney General's office; the decision might carry over into the Eisenhower administration. In the meantime the doomed couple are under a stay of execution granted by sentencing Judge Irving R. Kaufman, to last until five days after the President's ruling.

In their appeal the Rosenbergs had this bitter comment for official attitudes to their claim of innocence:

> **We have been told again and again, until we are sick at heart, that our proud defense of our innocence is arrogant, not proud, and motivated not by a desire to maintain our integrity, but to achieve the questionable "glory" of some undefined "martyrdom." We are not martyrs or heroes nor do we wish to be. We do not want to die. We are young, too young for death. We long to see our two young sons, Michael and Robert, grown to manhood.**

The Rosenbergs reminded Truman of the "true precedent you have set" with regard to eight persons convicted in the U.S. of espionage for Nazi Germany in wartime, none of whom was executed: on June 23, 1945, when commuting the death sentences against Nazi spies Colepaugh and Gimpel, Truman said:

> **"Acting as a spy is . . . accepted practice in war . . . in that respect it differs from war crimes, which are violations of the accepted rules of warfare."**

WASHINGTON BESIEGED: Still reverberating in the nation's capital this week was the solemn and moving effect of the Clemency Gathering held there Jan. 5, attended by upwards of 2,500 persons from 22 states. The Rosenberg Case was pressed upon the mind of every Washingtonian, from cab driver and waitress to Senator and official.

While the delegates were in town, they swelled the round-the-clock vigil patrolling the White House since Dec. 27; many who came for the day stayed on to keep the line going until justice is won. Participants brought back countless stories of human responses they encountered; typical is that of William B. Esterman, Natl. Lawyers Guild head in Los Angeles, and John Wexley, playwright best known for **They Shall Not Die.** Wexley asked a grim-faced Negro policeman, assigned to the picket line across the street from the White House, how he felt about the case. He didn't reply at once; then he said:

> **"I think they should have a chance. I'd hate to be in there alone with nobody walking for me."**

RECEPTIVE CONGRESSMEN: All day long delegations visited Congressmen, Senators, officials of the State and Justice Depts. Few made public commitments but many promised to do what they could to urge clemency. A few Congressmen made themselves unavailable to delegations. Notable among these was Sen. Herbert H. Lehman (D-N.Y.); some who called on him heard his voice from behind a closed door shouting that they should get out of his office and expressing agreement with the death sentences. More than 100 small delegations made individual calls; at least 30 Congressmen expressed themselves in favor of clemency.

All week long, through cold and rain, the White House vigil continued. Last Sunday a brief prayer meeting was conducted nearby by the Rev. Harold S. Williamson, pastor of New York's Church of the Rugged Cross. To those who stood silent in the rain he said:

> **"We have come from many cities to ask that our President end his term of office with a courageous act of justice. We appeal to the Almighty to move the hearts of those in high places to grant clemency to Ethel and Julius Rosenberg."**

IN NEW YORK: More than 1,000 persons defied a chilling rain to attend a Rosenberg rally in Strauss Square, in the heart of N.Y.'s Lower East Side where both Rosenbergs were born and raised and where they lived till their arrest. Another New York meeting called by a musicians' committee for the Rosenbergs drew an overflow audience. Hundreds responded to an appeal to help the Rosenberg Committee (1050 Sixth Ave., N.Y.C.) distribute 1,500,000 leaflets this week.

On Sunday night, Jan. 11, a surprise demonstration was held in Times Square. From the windows of two hotels facing the square, loudspeakers broadcast a recorded appeal for clemency, while from another hotel window leaflets showered on street crowds.

NEW VOICES: In its current issue the liberal **Nation** contains a full-page clemency plea by editor Freda Kirchwey, who expressed her belief

> **. . . that no final act [by President Truman] would better prove his courage and independence than the granting of clemency to these two convicted spies.**

The **Jewish Frontier,** influential weekly, writes in its current issue:

> **We join those who sincerely petition the President to exercise his right of executive clemency in this case.**

In Michigan Rev. Henry Hitt Crane, prominent Methodist minister and American Civil Liberties Union chairman in his state, wrote the President:

> **May God give you the wisdom and strength to make the courageous decision to commute the death sentence to imprisonment, that there may later be opportunity to determine finally the question of guilt—and that justice and mercy may not fail.**

(ACLU's natl. committee has opposed any intervention in the case; at least three state affiliates have defied its decision.)

"UNFOUNDED ASSUMPTIONS": The Natl. Lawyers Guild made public a statement it has sent to Truman

> **. . . that this case exemplifies the great injuries that can be done to a law-governed society . . . when public passion and prejudice, politics or propaganda operate, or even seem to function, to influence the judgment of courts. . . . We are led irresistibly to the conclusion that the court, no doubt unconsciously, succumbed to the emotions and tensions created by unceasing propaganda to the extent that it based the sentences . . . on unsubstantiated assertions and unfounded assumptions concerning matters which were hardly within the scope of judicial determination . . . and bringing to justice other espionage agents. . . . Rather, Sobell has chosen to follow in the footsteps of the defendants Rosenberg and, like them, adheres to misguided loyalties. His choice has been deliberate, and the enormity of his offense becomes even greater. . . ."**

STATE DEPT. WORRIED: Protests abroad grew in strength and scope. In London a dawn-to-dusk vigil was being maintained before the U.S. Embassy; every hour on the hour a delegation visited the Ambassador to ask if clemency had been granted. A vigil continued around the clock before the Embassy in Ottawa. From France, Brazil, Mexico, Panama, Sweden, an avalanche of protests poured in.

Foreign reaction had the State Dept. worried. The U.S. Ambassador in Paris was so "alarmed" at public outcry that he flew an attache to Washington for consultations; a 40-page booklet was prepared on the case which is now being distributed in 40 nations. Voice of America programs are heavily weighted

THE ROSENBERG CLEMENCY VIGIL AT THE WHITE HOUSE
On Jan. 5, 2,500 person came from coast to coast to join the line

Ephraim Cross and Michael B. Atkins wrote to more than 3,000 fellow N.Y. attorneys seeking their support for clemency.

SOBELL—"NO COOPERATION": During the week Judge Kaufman rejected an application to reduce the maximum 30-year sentence he gave Morton Sobell, who was tried with the Rosenbergs but never connected with "atomic secrets." Sobell was recently transferred to Alcatraz, toughest of all federal prisons. His plea was argued by atty. Howard N. Meyer, opposed by James B. Kilsheimer 3d, asst. U.S. Atty., who said:

> **"There has been on Sobell's part absolutely no cooperation, no showing of any remorse. . . . The defendant has stood mute and without any attempt to assist the prosecution or tell the prosecution what he does know about the crime."**

Sobell, like the Rosenbergs, has stoutly maintained his innocence. Kilsheimer brushed aside appeals from Sobell's wife and mother:

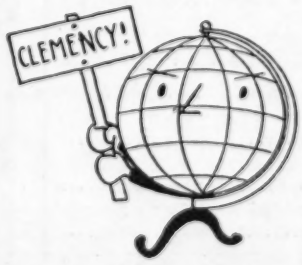
> **"Both . . . were most uncooperative before the grand jury, and they have still manifested the same steadfastness and have not in any way offered to tell what they do know. Therefore I think it comes with poor grace for them to seek mercy from the Court. . . .**
>
> **"It is still more deplorable and grievous that Sobell has not seen fit to follow the course of David Greenglass, Harry Gold and Klaus Fuchs, who, after pleading guilty, gave substantial aid in detecting**

with the government's side, and French newspapers are being "swamped," as one Socialist paper said, with U.S. government material on the case. But the clamor continued; the **France-Tireur,** hotly anti-Communist, advocated clemency, wrote indignantly in behalf of Mrs. Rosenberg:

> **"Should she have betrayed her husband?"**

Les Temps Modernes, influential cultural journal edited by Existentialist Jean-Paul Sartre, published a caustic 20-page review of the trial record, derided it for its lack of evidence, and reached this conclusion:

> **Julius and Ethel Rosenberg are innocent. . . . They were condemned to death not because they are Communists, nor because they are guilty, [but] primarily because they refused to confess, because they disavowed nothing. . . .**



WAR & PEACE

Doctors called in NATO case; patient may be 'already dead'

AS Eisenhower packed his trunks to move into the White House, the golden eagle of the European Army which he had laboriously hatched for the Truman administration seemed unlikely ever to get off the ground. Paris' **Le Monde** saw "lead in its wings" and asked: "Is it already dead?"

While Belgium's Council of State (which has advisory but not legislative powers) reportedly found the European Defense treaty unconstitutional, France's government reshuffle—reflecting the broad hostility to the treaty—left

. . . our own policy — our basic defense policy, in fact—[hanging] in the balance (Anne McCormick, N. Y. Times, 1/10).

The new Premier, Rene Mayer, had only been able to form a government by dropping pro-U. S. Foreign Minister Schuman and accepting treaty-revision demands of the right-wing, nationalist, French Empire-minded de Gaullists. Mayer's main promise was to meet the demand for an understanding that French forces could not be unreservedly at the disposal of NATO's Gen. Ridgway, who in that case (**NYT**, 1/10)

. . . might conceivably decide whether or not they could defend . . . their authority in those territories that might be challenged by indigenous nationalists. . . .

LESS ARMY, MORE $$: The **Wall St. Journal** (1/8) saw Mayer's policy as amounting to

. . . prolonged and perhaps permanent shelving of the six-nation European army, including German divisions; cuts in France's 1953 defense spending; demand that the U. S. give France a greater voice in Western policy planning; greater U. S. aid—especially for the Indo-China war.

WSJ reported "economic and political observers were puzzled" by Mayer's vague solutions for France's economic ills. **NYT** took consolation in Mayer being "a man of the highest caliber." The Communist **Humanite** (1/1), recalling his association with Laval and the Rothschild bank in providing cash for Mussolini's aggression in Ethiopia and his benevolence as Minister of Justice toward World War II collaborators, described Mayer as

. . . in the first rank of politicians who have done most harm to France.

GERMAN "TURNABOUT": In W. Germany, following Chancellor Adenauer's appeal to Washington for help (GUARDIAN, 1/8), Eisenhower had "intervened forcefully" (**NYT**, 1/7) with a message to him stressing the urgency of the European Army treaty. But after Mayer's policy statement Adenauer publicly agreed that the treaty needed revision. This

. . . unexpected turnabout [by] Dr. Adenauer, the firmest prop of U. S. policy on the Continent. . . . emphasized the strength of the political forces in Germany combatting approval of the treaties (NYT, 1/8).

Allies reluctant on U. S. "aggressive strategy" in Asia

Eisenhower strategists diligently sought a cure for Allied feet-dragging in the Far East—a spreading epidemic there as in the West. According to **AP**'s J. M. Hightower (12/30/52), "a master strategy against communism throughout the Far East" was being prepared,

(Continued on following page)

CALENDAR

Listings in this section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion. Copy deadline Friday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

New York

COME ALONG, sing along, dance along at the gay and carefree **JEFFERSON JAMBOREE** on Sat., Jan. 17. There'll be Otis McCrae and his orchestra, all star entertainment including Hope Foy, Betty Sanders, Les Pine, Bill Robinson, Louise Jeffers, The Puppeteers, and others. Two floors full of fun, food galore, and a gala, exciting time. Admission $1 in advance, $1.25 at door. At the Jefferson School of Social Science, 575 6th Av. (cor. 16th St.).

PARTY—Slides of new Chinese art. Dancing, entertainment, swell food, nice people. Sat., Jan. 17, 8:30 p.m., 227 Riverside Drive, Apt. 1S, Cont. $1. ALP, 5th A.D., No.

FOLK ART OF THE NEGRO AND JEWISH PEOPLE, Margaret McCaden, actress, contralto; David Seltzer, poet, writer. Sun., Jan. 18, 8:15 p.m. Max Gilgoff Club, ALP, 1602 Pitkin Av., Brooklyn. Refreshments, Dancing. Contribution: 50c.

VILLAGE La GUARDIA CLUB announces a lecture by Dr. Clementina J. Paolone, "Making Childbirth Safe and Fearless," Thursday, Jan. 22, 8 p.m., 166 Thompson St.

THE PRAGUE TRIALS, speaker: Louis Harap, managing editor "Jewish Life," Mon., Jan. 19, 8:30 p.m. ALP, 5th A.D., No., 2542 Broadway (95th St.). Admission: free.

CONCERT—Wyandot Parents' Association (Benefit of Scholarship Fund). Sun., Jan. 18, 8 p.m. **MARTHA SCHLAMME** (acc. by Tanya Gould), **LEON BIBB**, **MOISCHE BUCHOLZ** (flutist), Rochelle Kitzes, Accordionist, St. Augustine's Presbyterian Church, Prospect Av. & 165th St., Bronx. For tickets, $1.20 and $1.80, call RE 2-3624.

FRIDAY NIGHT SOCIALIST FORUM presents a talk on "How Many Gains Have Negroes Made?" by George Breitman, editor of **THE MILITANT**. Fri., Jan. 16, 8 p.m., Militant Hall, 116 University Pl., nr. Union Sq. Contribution: 25c.

Queens, N. Y.

BOOKS ALIVE FORUM, Sun., Jan. 18, 8:15 p.m. Subject: "Atomic Imperialism," by James Allen. Round table discussion by **ERNEST THOMPSON**, U. E.; **VICTOR PERLO**, economist; **BERNARD FRIEDMAN**, science teacher; audience participation. At Duo-Arts Academy, 107-50 Queens Blvd. (Ind. subway to Continental Av.) Sub: 50c.

Baltimore

HOWARD FAST addresses the Baltimore Forum, Sun., Jan. 25, 8:45 p.m., on "Literary Censorship." Odd Fellows, McCulloh & Lanvale Sts.

Oakland-Berkeley

SIDNEY ROGER - ASP FORUM. Noted liberal commentator analyzes news. Audience discussion. Every **TUESDAY** night, 8:15 p.m. Donation 50c. New ASP Gallery, 5919 Grove, Oakland.

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General

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HAVE YOU RENEWED? SEE PAGE 2

(Continued from preceding page)

co-ordinating military and political moves which will

> . . . require a willingness on the part of co-operating nations to make greater efforts and take more risks. . . . [This] willingness . . . will prove to be a formidable hurdle [confronting Eisenhower-Dulles plans for a] more aggressive strategy.

Eisenhower Secy. of State Dulles was reported planning a spring tour of India, Pakistan and other Asian countries. **NYT** (1/12) explained that while leaders of the new Administration let it be known it

> . . . would not embark on an "Asia first" policy, it is understood Mr. Dulles believes that the Soviet Union will not launch an attack in Europe unless and until it has carried out its program of aggression in the Far East.

BOGGED IN INDO-CHINA: To aid France's war in Indo-China, Robert S. Allen reported (12/30/52), the U. S. had sent three times as much in the last as in the first half of '52: 80,000 machine guns etc., 100 million rounds of ammunition, 1,200 artillery pieces, 8,000 motor vehicles, 750 tanks etc., 300 planes and 240 naval craft had been sent during the year direct to Indo-China. Nevertheless, as **Observateur** reported (12/25/52), leading members of French government parties have formed a Committee for Study and Action for Peaceful Settlement of the Vietnam War—a war in which, according to ex-Premier Daladier and other speakers in the Assembly Dec. 19, victory is "unthinkable" and France

> ". . . risks bursing her patrimony in the blood-soaked mud of the Indo-China swamp."

KOREA—ASIANS OR ATOMS? In the Korean War, the extent to which the feet-dragging epidemic had infected Americans could no longer be kept quiet: the Pentagon disclosed there have been over 49,000 military desertions by Americans since the war began. Meanwhile Gen. Mark Clark summoned S. Korean President Syngman Rhee—who has said that if Japanese troops were brought in, the S. Koreans would shoot at them rather than Communists—to Tokyo, to sit down with Japanese Premier Yoshida in an "effort to knock some heads together" (**NYT**, 1/7). Rhee also talked with two Chiang representatives (use of Chiang as well as Japanese troops in Korea has been suggested as part of the "Asians fight Asians" campaign).

Key GOP members of the Congressional Atomic Energy Comm. last week

> . . . assured Eisenhower of their support if he decides to use the atomic weapon in his attempt to end the Korean War (N. Y. Herald Tribune, 1/9).

But Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman Gen. Bradley before the House Armed Services Comm. blamed W. Europe's arms slowdown "in large degree" on

> . . . a "dangerous hope" that a future world war could be won by the free countries through the use of atomic weapons alone . . . . [Rep. Dewey] Short (R-Mo.) said that the subject of possible use of atomic weapons to end the stalemate in Korea had been discussed. . . . Gen. Bradley [said] he did not know how to end the Korean war, and that he had met no one who did know how.

Carrefour, Paris

"Call for the Premier. . . . Who the hell IS the Premier?"

PHILIPPINES CHAOS: In the U. S. stronghold of the Philippines, the internal situation remained explosive; no decline was visible in popular support of the Philippines Liberation Army. There were signs that Washington considered ditching President Quirino in favor of "strong man" Defense Secy. Ramon Magsaysay, leader of the anti-Liberation Army campaign, who last month arrested as Communists 170 Chinese, some "of high standing in their communities and of considerable wealth" (**NYT**, 12/28/52). (Filipino businessmen are bitterly jealous of the prosperous Chinese.)

The chaotic state of the economy was indicated by a recent Mutual Security Agency report which found "nearly half the village residents . . . today worse off than ten years ago." Oppression by landlords is so glaring that MSA has several times vainly recommended some kind of land reform. Quirino angrily denounced the recommendation; Eugenio Perez, Speaker of the Philippines House of Representatives, charged Communist infiltration of MSA, called for screening of its personnel.

RIOTS IN PAKISTAN: Unrest broke into violence in Pakistan, where 2,000 Karachi students marched to the home of Education Minister Fazlur Rahman to demonstrate against high tuition fees and other abuses. Government troops fired on them, killing 12 and wounding at least 100; after three days control was not yet regained.

The demonstration coincided with conviction of a group of distinguished defendants connected with the opposition Azad (Free) Pakistan Party, after an extraordinary secret trial lasting since June, 1951 (GUARDIAN, 1/30/52). Sentences ranged from 4 to 12 years' imprisonment against former Pakistan Army Chief of Staff Maj. Gen. Akbar Khan; poet, union leader and **Pakistan Times** editor Faiz Ahmed Faiz; Syed Sajjad Zaheer, gen. secy. of the Pakistan Communist Party, and 11 others, 10 of them army officers. The case against them was apparently so untenable that **AP** (1/5) said even some officials expected their acquittal.

A committee set up in March, 1949, to draw up a draft Pakistan constitution, finally reported. The draft was on predominantly religious lines, making some concessions to the "Welfare State"; but as the **New Statesman & Nation** pointed out (1/3), these concessions could only be implemented if there were a strong opposition—and most opposition leaders are in jail.

Un-American?

Translation of p. 2 box:

"Victory breeds enmity—the defeated live in sorrow.

"The peaceful live happily—giving up both victory and defeat."

—**Buddha (about 500 B. C.)**

Asian Socialists cool to Western approach

In Burma, an attempt to gather Asian Socialists into the "Western family" at an Asian Socialist Conference fared poorly. Britain's Clement Attlee and other top Western Socialists flew to Rangoon to urge Asian Socialist parties to merge with the Socialist International. Their hosts, unimpressed, decided at the conclusion to form a separate Asian Socialist Bureau.

At the S. I.'s Milan conference last year, Asians who came as observers called for "a true socialist policy in Africa and Asia" and strongly criticized the contradiction between the European parties' words and actions on colonialism; but no modification of S. I. support of colonialism resulted. In fact, one Milan resolution condemned "xenophobic nationalism" in colonial countries—"precisely the national liberation movement which seeks to throw out foreign imperialism" (**Cahiers Internationaux**, Paris, 12/52).

YUGOSLAVS HORN IN: The Rangoon conference heard many attacks on both the U. S. S. R. and the U. S.; little love was expressed for European Socialists, who were berated for past and present betrayal of colonial peoples. On Tunisia, M. A. Slim of that country's Neo-Destour Party—a moderate party savagely repressed by a French government including Socialists—said:

> ". . . Much greater efforts are required of European Socialists if this dangerous wave of racial discrimination and bloody colonial aggression is to be stemmed before it is too late."

While Yugoslavia's Ales Bebler spread anti-Soviet sentiment at the conference, a Yugoslav military mission headed by Gen. Luba Vuckovic concluded a month's survey in Burma. There was apparently some tangling with U. S. and British missions. Since 1947 Burma has been host to a British military mission and bought arms from Britain, but recently it declared its desire for a new defense agreement. A British spokesman denied that Burma would dispense with the British mission, but when Burmese C-in-C Gen. Ne Win visited the U. S. some months ago he was promised U. S. war equipment.

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Have you sent in your renewal? See p. 2

'MEN OF ALL DESCRIPTIONS' MEET FOR PEACE

The Vienna story the press did not tell

By Jean-Paul Sartre

After the war, in which he fought with the Resistance, 46-year-old French novelist-playwright Sartre stirred world controversy over his "Existentialist" philosophy which portrays man (Life, 6/19/46) as "beset with incalculable obstacles . . . what he does with his life depends on his own stoical reaction to this [unfriendly] environment." Last week his publication Les Temps Modernes *published a devastating article exposing the Rosenberg trial. The following is excerpted from Sartre's report on the Vienna Peace Congress, to which he was a delegate, published (1/1) in* Le Monde. *(Emphasis in the original.)*

PARIS

THE papers had told us that we would be hostages, that we would not be allowed to speak, that our presence would be a cover for obscure maneuvers. We have returned: what are they waiting for to correct these statements? . . . They had to prove that the Vienna Congress, despite superficial changes, would merely repeat that of Warsaw: they cunningly likened it to a conference of diplomats and asked of it—or pretended to ask of it—results that UN itself could not produce, in order to be able to say afterward that it was a fraud and produced nothing new. They simply passed over in silence its true nature: that it was a congress **of peoples.**

Yet accepting the discussion on the basis of diplomatic results, it would be easy to show the progress accomplished—and especially in the appeal to the peoples, the passage concerning neutral states and the guarantees that should be made to them. But it is more important to concentrate on this **popular** aspect of the congress, just because an attempt is being made to conceal it.

WHO WAS THERE: Yes. Certainly there were Communist delegates. A hundred per cent, I suppose, in the delegations from the people's democracies —but wasn't it them whom we went to meet?—and a **feeble minority** in the Western delegations. But the fact can no longer be hidden today that the Western delegations included men of all descriptions and of every diverse opinion.

Of course the anti-Communists have a reply ready: these unfortunates are dupes or accomplices; in any case they do not belong to the political parties or religious groups in which they claim membership. . . . I do not know if these explanations, seen from **here,** are convincing; when one read them **there,** they made one laugh. . . .

THE OPPORTUNITY: . . . The congress is a stage in a long development: the discussion between East and West is very slow; all the questions posed did not find immediate answers. But it is simply that it takes time to transmit them to the competent authorities. These contacts have in fact an importance surpassing the mere discussion itself: for us, citizens without power, without representatives of our interests and our hopes, it is the only opportunity we have to meet and know representatives of the Soviet Union; for the Soviet delegation it is the only opportunity to become acquainted with that important fraction of French opinion which, without being Communist, equally condemns anti-Communism and the armaments race. . . . If nothing else had been accomplished than this quiet confrontation, I would still feel the congress served the cause of peace.

All felt it as I did. . . . The evidence grew each day that "there is here a **real force** and a **real will for peace**—and this force is ours and that of the men and women who sent us here; the congress **is us**; it will be what we make it, it **is** what we make it."

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INSIDE RUSSIA. Nikolai Giutegin, son of a Chukchi seal hunter, whose people 30 years ago had no written language, graduates from college and returns to bring culture to his people. This exciting story is one of the many exclusives by Ralph Parker, former N. Y. Times correspondent, who covers every aspect of Soviet life for NWR.

IS THERE ANTI-SEMITISM IN POLAND? Margaret Schlauch, former NYU professor, wrote from Warsaw that U.S. reports that anti-Semitism is encouraged are deliberate lies . . . that the government subsidizes a Jewish daily paper, a literary monthly, Jewish books, a theater, Jewish education; special shops are provided to handle ritually prepared foods; funds are given for restoration of Jewish cemeteries. She writes: "Public life is a daily education against anti-Semitism."

THE TRUTH ABOUT KATYN FOREST! NWR readers learned it in an exclusive article by Sender Garlin, which gave the facts and exposed those trying to revive this Goebbels myth.

These are a few of the exclusives that made NWR "must" reading for all who want to know why the world isn't at peace — and what is really going on.

Look what's coming!

INCREASING MAN'S LIFE SPAN TO 150 YEARS. Fascinating researches on the development of the cell show possibility of extending average human life to 150 years, according to Prof. Olga Lepeshinskaya, prominent Soviet scientist.

LIGHT ON INDO-CHINA. Kumar Goshal, noted authority, will give NWR readers the untold story of what is being accomplished in the Viet Minh areas despite the bitter struggle against French colonialism.

Look what's in the January issue!

NAPALM. Told for the first time—the full, horrifying story of the use of napalm bombs by U.S. military forces in Korea—bared by a group of distinguished British scientists.

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